

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02708

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GW

SUBJECT: DEBATE ON POLISH AGREEMENTS HEATS UP

REFS: A. BONN 2637 (NOTAL); B. BONN 2601 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE CDU/CSU "LEADERSHIP TEAM" AND CDU/
CSU MINISTER PRESIDENTS ISSUED A STATEMENT FOLLOWING
THEIR MEETING FEBRUARY 17 THAT THE POLISH AGREEMENTS ARE
NOT SATISFACTORY IN THEIR PRESENT FORM. THE UNION
PARTIES DEMANDED THAT BEFORE THE FINAL VOTE IN THE
BUNDESRAT, THE GOVERNMENT OBTAIN ASSURANCES THAT ALL
GERMANS IN POLAND WHO WISH TO LEAVE WILL BE PERMITTED
TO DO SO WITHIN SIX YEARS AND THAT THE FINANCIAL
ARRANGEMENTS MADE WITH POLAND WILL NOT BE A PRECEDENT
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FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER STATES. IT IS UNCLEAR

HOW BINDING THE DECISION MADE AT THE CDU/CSU MEETING WILL BE ON THE TWO KEY CDU LAENDER, LOWER SAXONY AND THE SAARLAND. SAARLAND MINISTER PRESIDENT ROEDER LEFT THE MEETING BEFORE THE DECISION WAS MADE AND ALBRECHT REQUIRES CABINET AGREEMENT IN LOWER SAXONY. FOLLOWING THE MEETING ALBRECHT MET WITH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER AND WE HAVE HEARD THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT ALBRECHT HAS NOT DECIDED ON HOW LOWER SAXONY WILL VOTE IN THE BUNDES RAT. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT SHORTLY THAT THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR ADDITIONAL EMIGRATION BEYOND THE 120,000 AFTER THE FOUR-YEAR TIME PERIOD. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE HOPEFUL THAT SUCH A STATEMENT BY WARSAW WILL PROVIDE AN EXCUSE FOR THE SAARLAND AND LOWER SAXONY TO VOTE FOR THE POLISH AGREEMENT IN THE BUNDES RAT. ALTHOUGH THE DEBATE IS STILL GOING ON AND THE FATE OF THE PENSION AGREEMENT IN THE BUNDES RAT REMAINS UNCERTAIN, THE AGREEMENTS HAVE ALREADY HAD SOME EFFECT (SOME 8,000 GERMANS HAVE ALREADY BEEN PERMITTED TO LEAVE POLAND AND THE POLES HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED ONE-THIRD OF THE PROMISED CREDIT). END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF THE CDU/CSU "LEADERSHIP TEAM" AND THE MINISTER PRESIDENTS FROM THE CDU/CSU LAENDER FEBRUARY 17, THE UNION PARTIES ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT IN THEIR PRESENT FORM THE POLISH AGREEMENTS ARE NOT SATISFACTORY ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS NOR DO THEY ADEQUATELY PROTECT FRG INTERESTS. THE UNION PARTIES DEMANDED THAT BEFORE THE FINAL VOTE IN THE BUNDES RAT, THE GOVERNMENT OBTAIN ASSURANCES THAT: (1) ALL GERMANS IN POLAND, WHO WISH TO LEAVE, WILL BE ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG WITHIN FOUR TO SIX YEARS; AND (2) THAT IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT THE FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE PART OF THE POLISH AGREEMENTS WILL NOT BE A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER STATES. THE UNION PARTIES ALSO EXPECT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NEGOTIATE WITH WARSAW SAFEGUARDS FOR THE GERMAN MINORITY WHO REMAIN IN POLAND.

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2. SPEAKING BEFORE THE SPD FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG FEBRUARY 17, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT DESCRIBED THE CDU/CSU STATEMENT AS PROOF OF THE OPPOSITION'S "LACK OF INTERNAL LEADERSHIP" (IT IS A RECURRING SCHMIDT ELECTION CAMPAIGN THEME THAT KOHL IS A "WEAK LEADER"). SCHMIDT ALSO NOTED THAT THE WORD "APPROVAL" OR "REJECTION" WAS ABSENT FROM THE CDU/CSU STATEMENT. IT WAS OBVIOUS, HE SAID/THAT THE CDU/CSU WAS NO LONGER PURSUING THE ELEVEN

POINTS ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED BUT WAS CONCENTRATING ON
THREE OR FOUR POINTS. SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT
DESCRIBED THE OPPOSITION STATEMENT AS A "NO WITH MANY
STIPULATIONS." SPD FRAKTION CHAIRMAN WEHNER CALLED IT
A "MISHANDLING OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC
AND A "VIOLATION OF HUMANITARIANISM." THE SPD
PRESIDIUM WARNED THE CDU/CSU AGAINST REJECTING THE
AGREEMENT IN THE BUNDESRAT. SUCH AN ACT WOULD CREATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02708

A DANGER FOR LASTING PEACE AND WOULD HAVE WORLD-WIDE
IMPLICATIONS IF THE GERMAN OPPOSITION TURNED DOWN THE

POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION WITH POLAND. THE SPD PRESIDIUM STATED THERE WAS NO REASON TO ALTER THE AGREEMENTS AS THEY NOW STAND.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER DESCRIBED THE OPPOSITION STATEMENT AS "DISAPPOINTING" AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE FEBRUARY 17 STATEMENT WOULD NOT BE THE LAST WORD UTTERED BY THE MINISTER PRESIDENTS OF THE CDU/CSU LAENDER.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAS GIVEN A DETAILED
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(24 PAGE) REPLY TO THE ELEVEN QUESTIONS CONTAINED IN THE RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE BUNDESRAT ON NOVEMBER

7. IN THIS RESOLUTION THE BUNDESRAT REQUESTED MORE INFORMATION ON ELEVEN QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE AGREEMENTS. GENSCHER'S REPLY, SENT BY LETTER ON FEBRUARY 16 TO THE CHAIRMEN OF THE TWO COMPETENT BUNDESRAT COMMITTEES, ATTEMPTS TO ANSWER EACH OF THE ELEVEN QUESTIONS IN A NON-POLEMICAL MANNER. WHILE GENSCHER SUPPLIES DETAILS OF SOME ARRANGEMENTS, SUCH AS HOW THE LUMP SUM PENSION PAYMENT WAS CALCULATED, HE FALLS BACK ON THE ASSERTION THAT APPROVAL OF THE AGREEMENTS WILL HELP BETTER THE SITUATION OF THE ETHNIC GERMANS IN POLAND, WHILE DEFEAT OF THE AGREEMENTS WILL WORSEN THEIR SITUATION, IN DISCUSSING THIS KEY POINT. HE REJECTS THE SUGGESTION THAT THE AGREEMENTS CONSTITUTE A PRECEDENT FOR OTHER STATES TO MAKE SIMILAR FINANCIAL DEMANDS ON THE FRG. WHILE GENSCHER'S REPLY SATISFIES THE FORMAL NEED TO REPLY TO THE BUNDESRAT RESOLUTION, IT WILL NOT BE THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE UPCOMING BUNDESRAT DEBATE.

5. WHILE THE TONE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES' STATEMENT WAS EXTREMELY HARD - FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER DESCRIBED THE CDU/CSU DEMANDS AS "ALL OR NOTHING" DEMANDS - IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW BINDING THE UNION PARTIES DECISION WILL BE ON HOW THE RESPECTIVE CDU/CSU LAENDER VOTE IN THE BUNDESRAT. SAARLAND MINISTER PRESIDENT ROEDER HAD TO LEAVE THE MEETING BECAUSE OF AN APPOINTMENT IN SAARBRUECKEN SO THAT HE WAS NOT FORMALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE CDU/CSU STATEMENT AND LOWER SAXONY MINISTER PRESIDENT ALBRECHT COULD ONLY ENDORSE THE STATEMENT ON A PERSONAL BASIS BECAUSE THE LOWER SAXONY CABINET HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED BEFOREHAND.

6. FOLLOWING THE UNION POLITICIANS' MEETING, ALBRECHT PAID A "COURTESY CALL" ON CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. UNLIKE THE USUAL COURTESY CALL OF A NEW MINISTER PRESIDENT ON

THE CHANCELLOR (WHICH NEED NOT TAKE PLACE SO QUICKLY AFTER A NEW MINISTER PRESIDENT IS INSTALLED), FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER WAS AT THE MEETING. A SOURCE CLOSE TO GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER CAME AWAY
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FROM THE MEETING WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT ALBRECHT HAD NOT YET MADE UP HIS MIND ON HOW LOWER SAXONY WOULD VOTE IN THE BUNDESRAT. THE SAME SOURCE SAID THAT GENSCHER FELT THAT SOME GESTURE WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE TO OBTAIN ALBRECHT'S SUPPORT ("THERE HAS TO BE SOMETHING IN IT FOR ALBRECHT" OUR SOURCE SAID).

7. REFERRING TO THE NEED TO DO SOMETHING FOR ALBRECHT, OUR SOURCE SAID THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS EXPECTED TO MAKE A STATEMENT SHORTLY THAT ADDITIONAL EMIGRATION BEYOND THE 120,000 WITHIN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS WOULD BE POSSIBLE. OUR SOURCE REMARKED THAT GENSCHER STILL BELIEVES THE POLISH PENSION AGREEMENT WILL BE PASSED BY THE BUNDESRAT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, HE SAID, WOULD MAKE A "POLITICAL" SPEECH BEFORE THE BUNDESTAG FEBRUARY 19 BUT WOULD TRY TO AVOID FORCING A CONFRONTATION. IN HIS SPEECH GENSCHER WOULD, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, CLAIM THAT NOT ONLY DO THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES VIEW APPROVAL OF THE POLISH AGREEMENTS AS A SIGN OF FRG GOOD FAITH, BUT THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ALSO FAVOR THE FRG POLICY OF RECONCILIATION WITH POLAND.

8. THE DEBATE OVER THE POLISH AGREEMENTS INCLUDES A NUMBER OF PLAYERS IN BONN, WHO ARE PLAYING DIFFERENT GAMES. AS ONE CDU OFFICIAL WHO SUPPORTS THE AGREEMENTS SAID, UNFORTUNATELY IT APPEARED THAT KEY POLITICIANS IN ALL THREE PARTIES FELT THAT A VETO IN THE BUNDESRAT MIGHT REDOUND TO THEIR PARTICULAR PARTY ADVANTAGE. THOSE IN THE CDU WHO OPPOSE THE AGREEMENTS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02708

BELIEVE THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC OPPOSES THE AGREEMENTS AND HENCE THE UNION PARTIES WOULD GAIN AT THE POLLS ON OCTOBER 3. IN THE SPD AND FDP THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT A CDU/CSU VETO WOULD ENABLE THE COALITION PARTIES TO REPEAT THE 1972 CAMPAIGN AND THUS INSURE A SOCIAL/LIBERAL VICTORY ON OCTOBER 3. SOME CYNICS CLAIM THAT THE SPD WOULD PREFER A CDU/CSU VETO BECAUSE SUCH AN ACT ON THE PART OF THE UNION PARTIES WOULD HINDER ANY FUTURE POSSIBILITIES FOR CDU/FDP COALITIONS, EITHER ON THE FEDERAL OF LAENDER LEVEL.

9. IT APPEARS THAT AS OF NOW A FINAL DECISION ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PART OF THE TWO KEY LAENDER (THE SAARLAND THE LOWER SAXONY) REMAINS OPEN.

10. IN THE MEANTIME, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE AGREEMENTS HAVE HAD SOME EFFECT. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, CONSCIOUS OF ITS IMAGE, HAS ALLOWED SOME 8,000 ETHNIC

GERMANS TO EMIGRATE. THE FRG, ON ITS PART, HAS
EXTENDED ONE-THIRD OF THE ONE BILLION DM FINANCIAL
CREDIT AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE AGREEMENTS.
HILLENBRAND

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